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Herbert W. Bowen, the Plenipotentiary of the Republic of Venezuela, have agreed upon and signed the following protocol:

Article I. All claims owned by citizens of the United States of America against the Republic of Venezuela, which have not been settled by diplomatic agreement or by arbitration between the two governments, and which shall have been presented to the commission hereinafter named by the Department of State of the United States or its legation at Caracas, shall be examined and decided by a mixed commission, which shall sit at Caracas, and which shall consist of two members, one of whom is to be appointed by the President of the United States and the other by the President of Venezuela.

It is agreed that an umpire may be named by the Queen of the Netherlands. If either of said commissioners or the umpire should fail or cease to act, his successor shall be appointed forthwith in the same manner as his predecessor. Said commissioners and umpire are to be appointed before the 1st day of May, 1903.

The commissioners and the umpire shall meet in the city of Caracas on the 1st day of June, 1903. The umpire shall preside over their deliberations, and shall be competent to decide any question on which the commissioners disagree. Before assuming the functions of their office the commissioners and the umpire shall take solemn oath carefully to examine and impartially decide, according to justice and the provisions of this convention, all claims submitted to them, and such oaths shall be entered on the record of their proceedings. The commissioners, or, in case of their disagreement, the umpire, shall decide all claims upon a basis of absolute equity, without regard to objections of a technical nature or of the provisions of local legislation.

The decisions of the commission, and, in the event of their disagreement, those of the umpire, shall be final and conclusive. They shall be in writing. All awards shall be made payable in United States gold or its equivalent in silver.

Article II. The commissioners, or umpire, as the case may be, shall investigate and decide said claims upon such evidence or information only as shall be furnished by or on behalf of the respective governments. They shall be bound to receive and consider all written documents or statements which may be presented to them by or on behalf of the respective governments in support of or in answer to any claim, and to hear oral or written arguments made by the agent of each government on every claim. In case of their failure to agree in opinion upon any individual claim, the umpire shall decide.

Every claim shall be formally presented to the commissioners within thirty days from the day of their first meeting, unless the commissioners or the umpire in any case extend the period for presenting the claim not exceeding three months longer. The commissioners shall be bound to examine and decide upon every claim within six months from the day of its first formal presentation, and in case of their disagreement the umpire shall examine and decide within a corresponding period from the date of such disagreement.

Article III. The commissioners and the umpire shall keep an accurate record of their proceedings. For that purpose each commissioner shall appoint a secretary versed in the languages of both countries to assist them

in the transaction of the business of the commission. Except as herein stipulated, all questions of procedure shall be left to the determination of the commission, or, in case of their disagreement, to the umpire.

Article IV. Reasonable compensation to the commissioners and to the umpire for their services and expenses, and the other expenses of said arbitration, are to be paid in equal moieties by the contracting parties.

Article V. In order to pay the total amount of the claims to be adjudicated as aforesaid, and other claims of citizens or subjects of other nations, the government of Venezuela shall set apart for this purpose, and alienate to no other purpose, beginning with the month of March, 1903, thirty per cent. in monthly payments of the customs revenues of La Guayra and Puerto Cabello, and the payments thus set aside shall be divided and distributed in conformity with the decision of The Hague tribunal.

In case of the failure to carry out the above agreement, Belgian officials shall be placed in charge of the customs of the two ports, and shall administer them until the liabilities of the Venezuelan government in respect of the above claims shall have been discharged. The reference of the question above stated to The Hague tribunal will be the subject of a separate protocol.

Article VI. All existing and unsatisfied awards in favor of the United States shall be promptly paid, according to the terms of the respective awards.

JOHN HAY,
HERBERT W. BOWEN.

Are Armaments Cheaper than War.

BY BENJAMIN F. TRUEBLOOD.

[From the Boston Globe.]

I am asked to give briefly my opinion on the question, "Are Armaments Cheaper than War?" If this wording properly stated the question, I should answer without hesitation, Yes.

The total annual cost of maintenance of the armaments of the world, land and naval, is about \$1,200,000,000 at the present time. The South African war cost England alone that sum, or at the rate of nearly \$500,000,000 a year. This is more than twice as much as her normal annual expenditure on her army and navy in time of peace.

If the indirect cost of the Boer War, in the derangement of trade, the crippling of industry, and the aftermath of interest and other outlays, were reckoned in, the total cost of it to England would foot up not less than double the above amount, that is, \$1,000,000,000 a year.

If one could imagine all the nations of the world with their present equipments warring for a whole year, the experience of England in South Africa would justify us in placing their outlay at not less than \$6,000,000,000 for the year, or at least five times as much as their present aggregate normal annual expenditure on their armaments in time of peace. The cost of such a year's war, if it were conceivable, would almost certainly, everything counted in, run up to a sum vastly greater than \$6,000,000,000.

Our own one-sided conflict with Spain and the Philippines is estimated by experts to have cost us in five years about \$750,000,000, or at the rate of \$150,000,000 per

year. That is something less than our new army and new navy will cost us the coming year. But it is more than double the amount of our annual army and navy expenses prior to 1898. A war with a first-class military power, like England or Germany, would cost us from three to five times as much per year as the Spanish-Philippine conflict has done.

In estimating the cost of a war one must always take into account the interest on the debt created by the war, the loss to productive industries occasioned by it, and the subsequent expense of caring for those disabled. Our annual pension account since the Civil War and the interest on the debt contracted have amounted to more than double the total yearly outlays on both our army and navy establishments. The European nations have had, of course, much larger establishments, but the annual expense of maintaining these in recent years — \$1,200,000,000 — has only just equalled the yearly interest which they have been paying on their huge debt (mostly created by their wars) of \$30,000,000,000. To this must be added another \$1,200,000,000 yearly for the support of those whom war has left helpless.

If, therefore, you take the total final cost of wars, and compare it with the perpetual expenses of armaments going on year after year, the cost of war will probably always be the greater.

But armaments cannot be separated from war and their expense considered alone. They are a part of it and of its cost. They are often provocative of jealousies, hatred and conflict.

From this point of view, it would be perfectly just to add to their cost much of the expense of the actual fighting. On the other hand, they are themselves to a much greater extent the product of wars. The great armaments of Europe are directly due in large measure to the last four European wars, and to the hatreds and suspicions left by them. Our own present increase of the army and the navy is to be attributed in no small measure to the Spanish-Philippine war. From this point of view, the cost of armaments is a part of the cost of war itself. It is the tribute which we have to put into the cap of bloody Mars for the entertainment which he has given us while actually performing his grewsome dance.

War and armaments are inseparable parts of the same system. Each stimulates the other; each is dependent on the other. You cannot get rid of the one while you cultivate the other. Both must go together, or remain together to burden and curse and disgrace our civilization.

How We Ought to Behave Towards Other Nations.

The following recent utterance of Tolstoy on current patriotism, while not entirely expressing our own view, is in the main close to the truest possible expression on the a subject. A true Christian patriotism is, we think, possible.

One of the commonest sophisms used in defending immorality consists in wilfully confusing what is with what should be, and, having begun to speak of one thing, substituting another. This very sophism is employed above all in relation to patriotism. It is fact that to every Pole

the Pole is nearest and dearest; to the German, the German; to the Jew, the Jew; to the Russian, the Russian. It is even true that, through historical causes and bad education, the people of one nation instinctively feel aversion and ill-will to those of another. All this is so; but to admit it, like admitting the fact that each man loves himself more than he loves others, can in no way prove that it ought so to be. On the contrary, the whole concern of all humanity, and of every individual, lies in suppressing these preferences and aversions, in battling with them, and in deliberately behaving towards other nations and towards individual foreigners exactly as towards one's own nation and fellow countrymen. To care for patriotism as an emotion worthy to be cultivated in every man is wholly superfluous. God, or nature, has already, without our care, so provided for this feeling that every man has it; leaving us no cause to trouble about cultivating it in ourselves and others. We must concern ourselves, not about patriotism, but to bring into life that light which is within us; to change the character of life, and bring it nearer to the ideal which stands before us. That ideal, presented in our time before every man, and illumined with the true light from Christ, has not to do with the resuscitation of Poland, Bohemia, Ireland, Armenia; has not to do with the preservation of the unity and greatness of Russia, England, Germany, Austria; but, on the contrary, is concerned to destroy this unity and greatness of Russia, England, Germany, Austria, by the destruction of those force-maintained anti-Christian combinations called States, which stand in the way of all true progress and occasion the sufferings of oppressed and conquered nations; occasion all those evils from which contemporary humanity suffers. Such destruction is only possible through true enlightenment, resulting in the avowal that we, before being Russians, Poles, Germans, are men, the followers of one teacher, the children of one Father, brothers. Day by day this is understood by a greater and greater number of people throughout the whole world. So that the days of state violence are already numbered, and the liberation, not only of conquered nations, but of the crushed working people, is by this time near, if only we ourselves will not delay the time of liberation, by sharing with deed and word in the violent measures of governments. The approval of patriotism of any kind as a good quality, and the incitement of the people to patriotism, is a chief hindrance to the attainment of those ideals which rise before us.

LEO TOLSTOY.

Venezuela and Africa.

It is some comfort that we are gradually extricating ourselves from the Venezuelan mess. The protocols are signed, the blockade is raised, the captured warships are to be returned, and certain matters of detail are to be referred to The Hague. Mr. Balfour claims that his government has acted wisely throughout, but the result, even with £5,500 on account thrown in, suggests that the whole matter might well have been referred to The Hague long ago. As it is, however, friends of peace may congratulate themselves that the steady pressure of public opinion has accomplished something. Attention may now be turned to Africa. There is the expedition against the